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THE DATE OF THE
HITTITE HIEROGLYPHIC
INSCRIPTIONS OF
CARCHEMISH

BY
A. E. COWLEY
Fellow of the Academy

Price 2s. net

FROM THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE
BRITISH ACADEMY. VOLUME XIII
LONDON : HUMPHREY MILFORD
AMEN HOUSE, E.C.

58

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



















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




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




BY A. E. COWLEY


Fellow of the Academy

THE following notes were put together for a meeting of Oriental societies at Boston, U.S.A., in 1921. I had intended to publish them, with other Hittite studies, in a small book, but, as that has not been possible, I venture to print them here with some corrections and additions.

As the argument depends partly on my own attempts at deciphering the hieroglyphics, it will be convenient to recapitulate the values proposed for some of the signs in my Schweich lectures for 1918 (published in 1920).  = B (or P).  = G (or K, or perhaps Ğ).  = D (or T).  = DU.  = K.  =  = M.  =  = C =  = N.  =  = N (or sometimes M?).  = R.  =  =  =  = S.  =  = T(+U?).  = T(+I?).  = H.

I am uncertain whether some or any of the phonetic signs are syllabic, i. e. include a vowel (*an, in, un, na, ni, nu*), or purely alphabetic, the vowels being usually supplied as in Phoenician. For the present it is preferable to treat them as alphabetic. The various signs for N and S no doubt had different shades of pronunciation—as *n, ñ, ng; ı, ɔ, ʒ, ʃ*—but we have no data for distinguishing them. For the vowels, I now incline to take  = A,  = I,  = U,  = IE,  = UE.

Ideograms are  = god,  = priest, or some high official,  = Addu, the god,  = SAR = chief,  = ruler.

The termination  (*ue*) is gentilic, or genitive, as in Vannic. Personal names are indicated by an oblique stroke over the first sign of a group, but this is often omitted.





By A are denoted here the inscriptions in 'Carchemish'












published by Hogarth, Lawrence, and Woolley (Pt. i, 1914, Pt. ii, 1921); by M, those in Messerschmidt's 'Corpus' (MVG, 1900, 1902, 1906).












A6 and 7, which form one inscription, may be taken first.









































































The author is 𐎗𐎎𐎎𐎎𐎎 𐎎 *I-n-i-i-s*, spelt 𐎗𐎎𐎎𐎎𐎎 in A 7 b¹, and with variants in A 15¹. [If, as is probable, 𐎎 = *as*, the name may be compared with Eni-ilu, Iniya being a hypocoristic form with the Hittite case-ending *-s*.] He was not king, but calls himself 𐎎𐎎𐎎 𐎎 . He is not said to be 'of Carchemish', nor is Carchemish mentioned in A 6 and 7, though the name occurs in A 15. His title probably means, as Sayce suggested long ago, properly 'priest', and the beginning of the text is: 'I speak, Iniis priest of the god Humbaba my lord.' It seems, however, in several places to imply also the sense of 'governour' or 'vizir' [*ḫazanu* or *šaknu* in Bab.]. He was evidently a person of great importance, and acted in some advisory capacity to the other person mentioned, whom he holds by the arm in the accompanying sculpture. The name of this second person is given as 𐎗𐎎𐎎𐎎𐎎 in A 7 a¹ and with different terminations in A 6^{3,6}. [Also in A 15³, A 17 b¹, M 11^{3,4}.] *G-n-n-i-s* may be Semitic, *גנניו* or *הנ'ו* or *עני'ו*, with the Hittite case-ending, *s*. Gananis again has none of the titles so far identified as meaning 'king', and in the sculptured portraits ('Carchemish' B 7) he is the shorter figure, as though the less important. He is therefore probably a foreign ruler or ambassador who is being introduced by Iniis for the purpose of making an alliance. In fact in A 6^{3,4} he is described as 𐎗𐎎𐎎𐎎𐎎 (oblique case) . . . 𐎗𐎎𐎎 (same case) 𐎗𐎎𐎎 𐎗𐎎𐎎 , 'Gananis, ruler of Aleppo'

The other portraits represent youths and children, and one would naturally suppose they were the family of Gananis. Their names, however, make this improbable (as will appear later), so that the young people must either be hostages or on a friendly visit connected with the alliance. There are seven well-grown youths besides the dwarf (?) and






























































the baby carried by a nurse. Do they represent the nine (or eight) cities concerned with the proposed alliance? In A 6⁵ (twice) among other place-names occurs    . The hand with the thumb uppermost is uncommon. As the other signs read *-i-s-k-i* I suggest that the hand is the ideogram for Damascus and that the rest is its phonetic complement: *Dam-iski**.

The name is found also in A 7 a¹⁻² with the adjectival termination, and in A 6⁷ Damascus is called           , 'chief of nine cities'. This can hardly be a coincidence. It looks as though Iniis (of Carchemish A 15¹) were recording here a successful effort to bring about an agreement between Aleppo and Damascus with eight (or nine) other cities. If so, there may have been no need to mention Carchemish. It is odd that the names attached to the figures are not mentioned in the great inscription (A 6). It is, however, quite possible that their cities are mentioned and have not been recognized.

Each of the figures has a name inscribed beside its head, and the name is preceded by           , or a variant of it, meaning 'I (am)'. Those which can be read with values already ascertained are:

- (1)                  , A 7 e.
- (2)                  , A 7 f.
- (3)                  , A 7 g (cf. A 7 i (2)).
- (4)                  , A 7 h.



* The name occurs in M 21⁴ and M 52⁵ with a different ideogram, a chair, and with the locative termination *-di*. Apparently also in M 19 A⁷, where the chair is differently drawn.

† The syllable  is certainly the base of the demonstrative pronoun. In M 34 the inscription beside the head of each of the two figures begins with                  , 'this (is)'. A very common form is                  , &c.); cf. Vannic *ini*, 'this'. The nominative of the simple form,                  , *δδε*, is used for 'I'; cf. Vannic *ies*. In the Ördek-burnu inscription      seems to be an extension of the same form. In the inscriptions of Sinjirli (Aramaic under Hittite influence) such descriptions begin with .

(5)  A 7 i (1).

(6)  A 7 j.

No. 2 reads *K-n-d-s-p-s*, the final *-s* being only the Hittite termination, and the name is the same as that of Kundašpi of Kummuh, who paid tribute to Shalmaneser III in 854. Can this be the same man at an earlier age? I must admit that I cannot at present identify the name of Kummuh in A 6.

No. 6 reads *Tu-a-s-i-s*. He is the baby, and his name is followed by a group which, from other passages, I take to be the ideogram of Miliddu (Malatia) with the gentilic termination \uparrow . In a Vannic inscription (Sayce 38¹⁶) a 'son of Tuates' is king of Malatia in the time of Argistis I, king of Van (*c.* 785-760 according to Lehmann-Haupt). I cannot help thinking that in the copy of the Vannic text, or even in the original,  is a mistake for , and that Tuates is Tuasis. If so, a man whose son was living in, say, 780, might well have been a baby in, say, 860. The phrase 'son of Tuases' may of course mean only 'of the house of T.'.

Now in the account of Shalmaneser's campaign of 854 we find (*K.B.*, i, pp. 170-3) that he dealt (among others) with Carchemish, Damascus, Kummuh (under Kundašpi), Aleppo, Hamath, and Malatia. They were all evidently in a Hittite alliance against him, and I believe that A 6 records the formation of the alliance of at any rate some of the states named by him. It took place at Carchemish as being one of the most influential of the allied states, but Damascus seems to have been the real head of the confederacy.

The date of A 6 is therefore a few years before 854. It does not relate to a later attempt to reorganize opposition to Assyria, because Kundašpi was a youth and Tuasis a baby.

As to the other names: no. 1 is Hittite in form* ; nos. 2, 3,

* I believe it to be the Hittite form of the name of Benhadad II, who died as king of Damascus in 846, but further evidence is necessary before this can be accepted.

and the second name in A 7 i have the Iranian ending *-ašp-*; no. 4 is not distinctive; no. 6 is Malatian; no. 5, which contains an unidentified sign, is the same (but with the Hittite termination) as that of the author of M 21 and M 52 (Marash)*; cf. M 3 B³ (Hamath). It is therefore Cilician (or Aramaic?). Names with such varied connexions can hardly belong to one family. The persons bearing them must be the representatives of different states who were meeting for some purpose of great importance, as is shown by the magnificence of the record. I do not doubt that this purpose was the formation or confirmation of the league which was broken up by Shalmaneser in 854 and that the date of A 6, 7 is a few years earlier, *c.* 860.

In 854 the king of Carchemish was Sangara, and he or another of the same name in 877 had paid tribute to Assurnazirpal. The city was evidently powerless in 877, but between that year and 854 it must have gathered strength to join in the opposition to Assyria. I cannot find (as others have) the name of Sangara in any of the inscriptions of Carchemish. One would expect him to appear in A 6. The man, however, who was king in 877, if he was the same † in 854, may well have been too old by then to have any importance, and for that reason the head of the confederation was Damascus and not Carchemish.

* * * * *

Now as to the other inscriptions.

For the next hundred years or so the Assyrian records are scanty, and references to Carchemish give us no real information. The city, however, owing to its position and its trade, must have regained or maintained its importance, and in 743 (Tiglathpileser IV) we find it again joining with

* He is probably also the same man. In both M 21 and M 52 Damascus is mentioned, and in M 52 the nine (cities or confederates) also. He calls himself 'King of Gurgum, belonging to the city, and (in M 52) priest (i. e. governour?) of Marash'.

† The Assyrians, however, were quite capable of continuing to use a name which was familiar from an earlier record.

other Hittite and kindred states in a confederation under Sarduris II of Van. The king of Carchemish was then Pisiris, who was still (if he is the same man) reigning when his city was reduced to an Assyrian dependency by Sargon in 717.

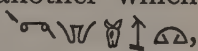
Only three kings are named as authors of the inscriptions of Carchemish. They are:



- (1) $\text{𐎶 𐎠 𐎢 𐎣 𐎤 𐎥} = H-s-t(u)-a-ti-n-ye-s$. His name occurs, with variants, in A 11 b¹, A 14 b¹, A 11 a¹. Cf. also Olmstead, &c., *Travels and Studies*, vol. i, pt. ii, pl. xxv, 2 (at Sher'a).
- (2) $\text{𐎶 𐎠 𐎢} = K(or G)-t(u)-a-s$. Cf. Kate (of Tabal), Kati (of Kue), *Καδούας*, *Κόρυς*. He is named in A 11 a¹, A 11 b¹, A 14 b², A 2¹, A 1 b¹ (cf. A 12¹), A 14 a¹. Cf. also Olmstead, pl. 25¹. I do not venture to transliterate this name without further evidence.
- (3) $\text{𐎶 𐎠 𐎢 𐎣} = K(or G)-t(u)-a-s$. Cf. Kate (of Tabal), Kati (of Kue), *Καδούας*, *Κόρυς*. He is named in A 11 a¹, A 11 b¹, A 12¹ (and to be restored in M 9¹), A 2^{1,3}, A 3^{1,2}, A 13 d^{1,5}. Probably also in Tell-ahmar¹.

The three kings were evidently successive, since they are named together in A 11 a¹ and A 11 b¹, probably as son, father, and grandfather. The latest of them, Kat(u)as, is the author of most of the inscriptions.

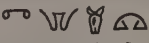
None of them is mentioned in extant Assyrian records. They must have reigned either before or after Shalmaneser's campaign of 854, since Sangara was then king. They cannot have lived after 717 when Carchemish was taken by Sargon and reduced to the status of a provincial city of the Assyrian empire. After that date no one would venture to call himself king of Carchemish without reference to his Assyrian overlord, even if he set up inscriptions in hieroglyphics. As Pisiris, the last king, was already reigning in 743, these three kings must have lived before that date. Their dates must therefore be put either before 877, when Sangara was already king, or between 854 and 743. On purely ex-




ternal grounds I think we might venture to decide on the later period, but there is other evidence.

In an inscription of Kat(u)as, and in another which forms a pair with it, occurs the name* , A 11 c⁵, and with a variant in A 11 b². With the values ascertained this reads: *Sar-addu-r-ue-s*, which can hardly be anything but Sarduris, the Vannic king. His name is written in Assyrian Saraduarri(s), &c. The second sign is the ideogram of the god Addu, not that the sign has here a merely phonetic value, or that the name is really compounded with Addu. It is a case of fanciful etymology. The name Sarduris was foreign and meaningless to the Hittite writer, and he did the best he could to give it a meaning by using the element Addu, which is common in Hittite names. If šar is an Assyrian loan-word, he must have supposed the name to mean 'belonging to the lord Addu', the -r- being adjectival, as elsewhere.

In A 11 c⁵ the name of Sarduris is followed (after five other signs) by the group ^c-n-s-d-i. I suggest that  is the ideogram of Biainas or Van, with its phonetic complement -nas- and the well-known locative ending -di (as in Vannic). The whole group then means 'in (or of) Biainas', and it is followed by the ideogram for 'country'.

A striking corroboration of this explanation seems to be supplied by the Tell-aḥmar inscription (*Liverpool Annals*, ii, pl. xxxviii). Unfortunately the text is much broken and defaced, but I have been helped in the study of it by a copy made independently by Dr. R. Campbell Thompson, which he lent to me with his usual generosity. The monument seems to have been erected by a local governour holding office under a king whose name (in

* I am not sure about the order of the last two signs. In M 16 C², from Malatia, the name has the form . Messerschmidt thinks the inscription a forgery derived from M 16 A, but this name does not occur there and it cannot have been invented. The inscription may be a bad copy of something existing elsewhere. Cf. Hilprecht, *Assyriaca*, pl. 2.

line 1, R.C.T.) must, I think, be read  (or nearly so), i. e. Kat(u)as of Carchemish. The inscription therefore belongs to the same reign as A 11 b and c. In line 4 we have  =  -s-t-n-ue *Biai-n-s-d*, which I think must be [*Arg*]istin^{ue} *Biainasdi*, 'of Argistis at Van'. Argistis I, the father and predecessor of Sarduris II, reigned from about 785 to 760. Biainasdi is clear, and it would be extremely interesting if we had the beginning of the king's name.

If, then, we may take the name in A 11 c⁵ as Sarduris the Vannic king, as I have no doubt we must, Kat(u)as was either contemporary with him or later. There are three kings named Sarduris in the Vannic inscriptions. Following the chronology worked out by Lehmann-Haupt (*Z.A.* 1920, p. 28), they are:

Sardur(is) I, who reigned about 830.

Sarduris II, who reigned about 760-733.

Sarduris III, who reigned about 645-625.

The contemporary of Kat(u)as may have been Sarduris I (Siduri, defeated by Shalmaneser III in 833). But Sangara was king of Carchemish in 854, and even if we assume that he died in that year and that Sarduris I survived his defeat by some years, the interval is short for the reigns of two of our kings and part of the reign of the third. It is not impossible but it is improbable.

Sarduris III reigned after the fall of Carchemish, and is therefore out of the question.

The most probable is Sarduris II, who is known from Assyrian records to have been at war with Assurnirari V and Tiglathpileser IV. In the extant inscriptions of Van the Hittites are first mentioned in the reign of Menuas (*c.* 810-785), who appears to have made war on them (Sayce, no. xxxii). His son and successor, Argistis I (*c.* 785-760), claims to have conquered the land of the Hittites (Sayce, no. xxxviii), whatever that means. We may conclude at any rate that the land of the Hittites was 'pacified' by him, for in 743 we find in Assyrian records his son and successor,

Sarduris II, forming an alliance with Malatia (cf. M 16 C²), Gurgum, Kummuh, and other 'Hittite' states, including apparently Carchemish, where Pisiris was then king. Unfortunately none of the Vannic inscriptions hitherto found of Sarduris II makes any mention of his relations with the Hittite states. The alliance of 743 must, however, have been preceded by a good deal of more or less friendly diplomacy, and it is to this period that the mention of Sarduris in the inscriptions of Katuas (A 11 b and c) must be assigned, say about 750. Not much earlier because Sarduris only came to the throne about 760, and not much later because Pisiris was already king of Carchemish in 743. This date agrees very well with the Tell-ahmar inscription, if we are right in reading the names of Katuas and Argistis in it. The text must record some of the dealings of Carchemish with Argistis I before his death in 760, and is therefore ten years or so earlier than A 11 b and c. It also shows that Katuas was contemporary with the latter part of the reign of Argistis I and the earlier part of the reign of Sarduris II.

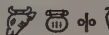
There can hardly have been another king between Katuas and Pisiris*, so that we may with some confidence put the succession thus:

Sangara, *c.* 877-854.
 (Probably two more kings).
 Hastuatiues, *c.* 820-800.
 |
 ▲ ◡ ☉, *c.* 800-775.
 |
 Katuas, *c.* 775-750.
 |
 Pisiris, *c.* 750-717.

The dates are of course only roughly approximate.

* * * * *

To sum up: if the above arguments have any validity


* In fact I think I have found his name in A 11 b³, where he is called  (my son?) by Katuas, as also in A 12², but this requires further evidence.

(and I hope I am not deceiving myself in thinking they are sound), the dates of the inscriptions will be as follows:

A 6, A 7, A 15 b (Iniis), about 860.

M 21, M 52 (the two lions at Marash), probably also *c.* 860.

A 14 b (Hastuatinues), *c.* 800.

A 1 b, A 14 a, Olmstead, pl. xxv (A ), *c.* 775.

A 2, A 3, A 11 a, b, c, A 12, A 13 d, M 9, and probably Tell-Ahmar (Katuas), *c.* 750.

The numerous fragments have not been considered here. The dating of the inscriptions is of great importance as a step towards their decipherment, since it gives us a clue to the historical setting of the texts and the nature of their contents.

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P Cowley, Sir Arthur Ernest, 1861-1931.
945 The date of the Hittite hieroglyphic inscrip-
C58 tions of Carchemish / by A.E. Cowley. -- London :
H. Milford, 1928.
12p. ; 25cm.

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